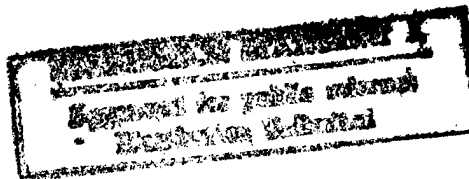


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JPRS 81861

27 September 1982



East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2059

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27 September 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2059

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CASE AGAINST BULANYI, BASIC COMMUNITIES TRACED

Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian No 3, 1982 pp 1-2

[Article by Laszlo Kasza: "The Bulanyi Affair"]

[Text] "Nagymaros, 16 May 1982. Hungary's basic groups were holding their usual annual meeting. The faithful gathered at the church were taken by surprise by the announcement: Cardinal Laszlo Lekai forbade Priory Father Gyorgy Bulanyi from taking part in the joint mass that was to be held by participating priests. The participants were shocked to hear the Cardinal's decision. In the silence that ensued following the announcement, a man stepped up to the microphone to call on those present to leave if they did not agree with the Cardinal's decision. A significant number of the parishioners and priests complied." (KIPA, 20 May)

The Swiss Catholic News Agency (KIPA) report quoted above made clear for outsiders what has long been known by observers of the Hungarian religious scene: the polemics between some of the leaders of the Catholic Church--led by Cardinal Lekai--and the basic church communities--mainly those around Gyorgy Bulanyi--are becoming increasingly impassioned. Nagymaros was only one stop on the path of these polemics. It was an important stop, however, because the walkout by some of the priests and parishioners was the first specific indication that a break might be developing between Hungary's traditional church and its basic communities. Such a break would entail consequences that are difficult to predict. The reason for this is that the Catholic Church would lose its most active, best trained people who are also the most dedicated to their religion. Their number--counting only the "Bulanyists"--was estimated to be around 30,000 to 40,000 by the bishop of Pecs, Jozsef Cserhati, in an interview with a reporter of Austrian TV. (ORT, 11 May 1982)

It is obvious that the Hungarian regime considers it to be in its interest to divide the Catholic Church and to intensify the conflict. At the same time, there have been certain signs--such as the handling of the basic communities and more specifically the "Bulanyi affair"--that some people (within the hierarchy) have failed to take a firm enough stand against government propaganda aimed at deepening the conflict within the church and (or) have failed to recognize that they are being used as a tool by the State Office for Church Affairs in its fight against the church.

History of the Small Church Communities

Small church communities, or basic communities, are not just a Hungarian phenomenon. We find them virtually wherever the Catholic Church has followers. Primarily in South America, but also in Western Europe. Johann Babtist Metz, a theology professor from Munster, gave the following reasons for their appearance: "The church became divided into leaders and followers, all initiatives had to come from above, it did not press for nor did it show any interest in social reform. The church was supposed to be for the people, but it never became the church of the people. It is time for us to stop criticizing our leaders for not leading the church properly, to stand up and be counted and to have faith in our own ability to take initiative. We are not to build a new church, we are to revitalize its foundations. There is no threat to the church of a violent rebellion from below. However, from above we do not usually see even a mild rebellion." ("Reformatio," Bern, September 1980)

This universally valid statement is becoming increasingly applicable to the traditionally conservative Hungarian Church. This, however, is not the primary reason behind the formation of basic communities in Hungary; it has been the result of the regime's church policy.

On taking power, the Communist Party suppressed all religious orders, organizations and institutions. Independent religious community life was forced underground. (Independent) communities were formed based on personal contacts that soon--especially after 1966--began to establish certain loose ties. Schools of thought began to emerge as did different work methods characteristic of the individual groups. Among these schools were the "regnumites"--whose roots go back to the interwar period of "Regnum Marianum," the "charismatics"--Hungarian version of the Western charismatic movement, the "Foculare"--who, based on the Foculare example, strive for a profound and thorough spiritual life, and the "Bulanyists."

The Bulanyists

Since it is the latter group that has become the main center of polemics, let us examine it more closely. This is the best organized, most centrally controlled movement. It advocates radical adherence to the teachings of Christ. Its interpretation of the Scriptures is a strictly word-by-word exegesis. Since it strives to live according to the Gospel, it pays little attention to social and cultural conditions. Its base members are extremely well educated in theology. Generally, a small community consists of 8 to 30 members. Their leaders are mostly priests, but they can also be laymen who have completed the "theology course." Despite central control, the individual groups enjoy considerable independence. Their self-communions, theological precepts and debates are often recorded in writing. One of the most important cornerstones of their theology is nonviolence. This is where they find themselves in confrontation with state power, for some of their members even refuse to serve in the armed services. At the same time, however, they are not concerned with political matters.

The movement received its name from Priory Father Gyorgy Bulanyi. Following the suppression of religious orders in 1951, Bulanyi was dismissed from his clerical position. In 1952 he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Following his release in 1961, he repeatedly requested--without success--to be allowed to work in the church. He has always stressed that "...speaking for myself and my small community-member brothers, I solemnly declare that in matters of faith and morality we want always to remain faithful to the tenets of Christ's Church. We have always given careful consideration to well-founded criticism from the hierarchy. We have readily responded to all precisely worded criticism." (Excerpt from Gyorgy Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 10 April 1982)

State Power--Basic Communities

Until the spring of 1976, basic community activities were treated as police matters by the state power. They were charged with illegal organization, conspiracy to overthrow the political system and other seditious acts. Their members were given long prison terms. This situation changed in 1976. Statutory rule No. 1976/8, adopted to give legal force to the UN's Standard International Document on Civil and Political Rights, has made it possible for small groups to pray together in private homes. Laszlo Lekai, who had just been appointed Archbishop of Esztergom, became head of the Hungarian [Catholic] Church--and thus of the basic communities--in the eyes of the state. It became his task to implement Paragraph 2 of the 1950 agreement between the church and the state which says: "The Bench of Bishops will, according to the laws of the Hungarian Church, prosecute all clergymen whose activities are found to be directed against the legal order of the Hungarian People's Republic and the constructive work of its government."

Since 1976, therefore, the church leaders' sphere of activity has actually expanded, but at the same time their responsibilities have also increased. The State Office for Church Affairs, for one, has interpreted this "increased responsibility" to mean that it can use the leaders of the hierarchy as instruments: It has been, and has used them as a means to make accountable clergymen and other persons involved in religious matters who had earlier been subjected to police proceedings.

This is why the basic groups have increasingly begun to look on the hierarchy as an executive organ of the state, while the church leaders have started to view the basic communities as elements that hinder peaceful cooperation between the state and the church. It must be added here that the relationship between the Bench of Bishops and the basic communities was less than satisfactory even before 1976. This is how the Vienna Institute of Church Sociology analyzed the situation:

"Small group members still find it painful to recall the highly controversial encyclic letter issued on 15 March 1961, in which the Bench of Bishops--as it put it--made known its intent 'to isolate itself as well as other Catholic clergymen who honestly serve their country and respect its laws' from the small group that at the time were in the process of being tried.

"Following the state's already mentioned 'edict of tolerance' and the encyclic letter issued by Pope Paul VI in 1975--in which he referred to the small groups as the hope of the church, these small groups that even in hard times and despite the threat of imprisonment cared little about what was and what was not recognized as 'church activities' by church policy, considering instead the teachings of the Gospel as the only rules that mattered--have been conforming even less closely to the by now joint wishes of the church and state authorities." (UKI [SIC] PRESSEDIENST, No. 22, January 1982)

We can assume that in recent years the state has been exerting increased pressure on the Bench of Bishops to take steps against the basic communities. The system's opinion of the basic communities has been--indirectly--expressed in the peace-priests' mouthpiece, KATOLIKUS SZO, which has placed small church groups on the same level with Nazism: "...the cradle...of the so-called elite Christianity...was Hitlerite Germany. At the end of World War II a replica of it also emerged here at home. Like all replicas, it failed. Then 10 years ago the baby was renamed, and became known as 'basic Christianity'." (KATOLIKUS SZO, 1977/2)

The state's anti-basic community activities also manifested themselves in direct measures. In the spring of 1977 the State Office for Church Affairs handed the bishops a list with the names of all priests who, in the opinion of the office, were engaged in "harmful activities" within the basic communities. Subsequently, the Bench of Bishops took a variety of measures against the priests listed. Most of them were transferred, others were warned. The disappointment felt by the priests working in the small church communities, that they were faced not only with the state power but also with their own church leaders, has led many of them to leave the country; others have requested laicization and one priest committed suicide.

Simultaneously, the police have also been taking action against the basic communities. They openly photograph people arriving at or leaving meetings, forcing them to identify themselves. The pictures then find their way to the desk of a personnel official, who in the course of a "chat" reminds the person in question of the "difficulties" that stand in the way of renewing his employment contract; he calls his attention to the reductions in force necessitated by "reorganization" that, he tells him, he does not have to worry about if he "changes his way of life."

Peculiar Expert Opinions

The Bench of Bishops for its part has launched several attacks in recent years against the basic communities. Although the Conference of Bishops renders unanimous decisions--including those against the basic communities--it is well known that there are significant differences of opinion regarding this matter among certain members of the Bench of Bishops. Judging from their related writings and statements, we can conclude that the most understanding toward the basic communities has come from the Bishop of Pecs, Jozsef Cserhati, and from Archabbot Andras Szennay of Pannonhalma. (see VIGLIA, June and November 1981) At the same time, according to a declaration by the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, the greatest enemy of the basic communities on the Bench of Bishops is Assistant Bishop Istvan Bagi, rector of the Central Seminary.

He is thought to be Cardinal Lekai's advisor in this matter. The other members of the bench, mainly out of a traditional respect for authority, have adopted the Cardinal's view. (Third Declaration of the Dignitatis Humanae, January 1982)

The center of the hierarchy's anti-basic community attacks have always been the "Bulanyists." There are several reasons for this: This is the best organized group; it is centrally controlled and thus as a unit is the most open to attack; they record their views in writing so that their statements can easily be quoted; and, finally, the "Bulanyists," from the very beginning, have been openly suspicious and mistrustful of--primarily--Cardinal Lekai's accommodating attitude toward the state. The Primate's complaint against the "Bulanyists" is that the political doctrines they teach are irreconcilable with the tenets of the church. The Cardinal, for whom it is not only a task but also a duty to ensure the purity of the church's tenets, began proceedings against Gyorgy Bulanyi.

During the course of the proceedings, Gyorgy Bulanyi's one volume, book, "Which Way Should I Go?" and his six-volume work, "Search for the Kingdom of God," which have served as the basis of self-communion in the basic communities, were submitted to the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for review. The congregation--which is the highest office in charge of ensuring the purity of the church's tenets--studied the volumes and in May 1980 it issued a statement. The most significant sentence in this statement points out: "These seven volumes contain nothing that could be considered inconsistent with the tenets of the church." This conclusion was reiterated again by Metropolitan Poggi during his visit to Budapest in March 1981, before several church figures and Gyorgy Bulanyi.

This unequivocal decision by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, however, did not put an end to the hierarchy's attacks against Bulanyi. Professors Ferenc Gal and Laszlo Vanyo were among the four-member commission of theologians instructed by Cardinal Lekai to conduct an inquiry into the theological views of Gyorgy Bulanyi. They wrote an opinion on two essays that had appeared in a volume entitled "Brothers' Gift to Brothers on Christmas 1980." Here is an excerpt from Prof Ferenc Gal's expert opinion: "He does not know the first thing about theology, the whole thing is nothing but nonsense... He does not have the foggiest idea about what the story of salvation means... Similarly confused are his references to the connection between the Scriptures, tradition and the teaching office.... To sum it all up, we are dealing with the manifestations of a man suffering from self-worship, which are not worthy of serious discussion..."

From the point of view of form, this "theological expert opinion" deserves attention in two respects. One is its tone, and the other is the fact that Prof Ferenc Gal did not consider it necessary to check whether the reflections he passed judgment on had indeed been written by Gyorgy Bulanyi. In this case, it would have been appropriate to investigate, for it would have spared the distinguished Hungarian theology professor the embarrassment of a blunder. As it turns out, the reflections that were thought to have originated with Bulanyi had actually been written by an electrical engineer named Jenő Demeczky. Incidentally, the essay that Prof Laszlo Vanyo reviewed and that

was similarly presumed to have come from Bulanyi was also found to have been written not by the Priory Father but by a linguist named Terez Kovacs. (Jeno Demeczky and Terez Kovacs, by the way, have since answered the criticism of theologians Ferenc Gal and Laszlo Vanyo in a hand-delivered open letter.) As a "result" of the theology professors' embarrassing blunder, the attacks against Gyorgy Bulanyi were intensified. After accepting an invitation from the basic communities to come to their Nagymaros meeting on 24 May 1981, Cardinal Lekai wanted to have the participating priests sign a declaration in which they were to disassociate themselves from Gyorgy Bulanyi. This attempt, however, ran into such opposition that the Cardinal had to drop his plan.

Incidentally, the basic communities are of the opinion that the only reason the Cardinal accepted the invitation to go to Nagymaros was because he was compelled to do so in the wake of an extremely unpleasant incident that had just become public. According to the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, "Cardinal Lekai ordered the retranslation of a letter that the Holy Father had addressed to the Hungarians at Easter 1980, and which was also sent out to them in Hungarian, to give it an anti-basic community tone. Under pressure from the Holy See, however, he was forced to allow publication of the Pope's letter also in its original wording....it was in this difficult situation that he agreed for the first time to accept the communities' invitation to Nagymaros." (Third Declaration of the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, January 1982)

Inquiry

At the time of the 1981 events at Nagymaros, the inquiry by the four-member commission of theologians into Gyorgy Bulanyi's case was already under way. Cardinal Laszlo Lekai had appointed theology professors Ferenc Gal, Laszlo Vanyo, Huba Rozsa and Peter Erdo to conduct an inquiry into the theological views of Bulanyi.

On 5 December 1981, Gyorgy Bulanyi was summoned to appear before the commission. Cardinal Lekai presided over the hearing. The hearing--according to the official record--was conducted in a tense atmosphere. Gyorgy Bulanyi refused to verbally answer all substantive theological questions. He requested that the questions be put in writing and that similarly he be allowed to respond in writing. In his letter of 6 December to Cardinal Lekai, which contained supplemental documents for the record, he gave the following explanation for his behavior: "The very reverend professors have been dealing with theology on a full-time basis. I myself, on the other hand, spent the last three decades of my life, 10 years each, as a prisoner, a delivery man and later as a technical translator. The very reverend professors have had an opportunity to prepare in advance the wording of their questions in a precise manner. Your Reverence expects well thought out, clearly phrased answers from me. I believe you have overestimated my abilities. I think it would be most reasonable and completely within the limits of fairness and justice to request that Your Reverence allow me time to prepare, because, first of all, I am not even a full-time theologian and second because it is not questions but answers that I am expected to give in a satisfactory manner. I most respectfully ask Your Reverence, therefore, to

be so kind as to send me the very reverend professors' questions in writing so that after a few weeks of preparation, as specified by Your Reverence, I can properly carry out my task by delivering my written answers to Your Reverence."

After thoroughly examining Bulanyi's answers--on 22 February--the Theology Commission summoned the Priory Father to appear once again. The following excerpt from Gyorgy Bulanyi's notes about the hearing should give some idea of the atmosphere in which it transpired:

Gal: You have an urge to vilify our bishops and to do so in the name of saintly love. This is what is so outrageous! Empty chattering! The only purpose all of this serves is to pick on the present tenets of our church. You are a bunch of fanatics! It is no use arguing with you because you just keep parroting your own.

Rozsa: You keep talking about a second line in connection with Saint Paul. I have never read about such a thing anywhere.

Bulanyi: That does not mean it cannot be true.

Rozsa: But it is not true!

(He keeps on talking; I try to say something but he does not let me, he talks. I try again, and again he does not let me. I protest the fact that he interrupted me.)

Rozsa: You need not say anything!

Bulanyi: So be it.

Later, Gyorgy Bulanyi was extremely bitter in recalling this hearing: "...it fills me with great sadness when I stop and think that back in 1952, when during the Rakosi regime I was detained by Gabor Peter's AVH [State Security Authority], the atheist major who was interrogating me for 60 days showed greater respect for me and my work than what I received at these two meetings, which could be called anything but 'dialogues'," (Excerpt from Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 7 March 1982)

The Bench of Bishops' paper UJ EMBER gave the following account of the way the case was pursued: "It was shortly after this that the mimeographed paper UJ FORRAS appeared with a discussion of views dealing with the question of subordination that were inconsistent with the tenets of the church. Although the author was not mentioned by name, point 41 of the essay leaves no doubt that it was written by Gyorgy Bulanyi. Following the publication of UJ FORRAS, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai once again invited Gyorgy Bulanyi to confer with him in the presence of the aforementioned professors. Bulanyi, however, failed to appear at this meeting." (UJ EMBER, 4 April 1982)

The Bench of Bishops' paper did not consider it necessary to mention the reason why Gyorgy Bulanyi did not show up for this third conversation. This in spite of the fact that in his letter of 7 March to Cardinal Lekai, Gyorgy Bulanyi gave a full explanation. First of all, the telegram containing the

invitation did not reach him in time, but even more importantly: "At the last meeting, my carefully prepared 'answers' received despicable evaluations. To this day--after 2 weeks of waiting--I still have not received a copy of the minutes of the meeting so that I could see whether they accurately reflect these evaluations. It would be of questionable value for me to voluntarily expose myself and my people to hours of abuse for yet a third time."

"I Am Praying For Your Reverence..."

It was at its 9-10 March session that the Bench of Bishops announced its first anti-Bulanyi decision. It called on the Priory Father to "...recant your avowedly erroneous theological explanations and report to us within a conventionally allowed period on how you intend to arrive at a balance with the traditional tenets of the Church..." (UJ EMBER, 21 March 1982)

This decision was based on the expert opinion of theology professor Ferenc Gal. Gal's condemnation of Gyorgy Bulanyi consisted of six points. Four of the six points--according to Prof Ferenc Gal--"were based on theological observations incompatible with the tenets of the Church" which appeared in the mimeographed paper UJ FORRAS. (UJ EMBER, 4 April 1982)

The case took an unexpected turn as a result of a letter by Gyorgy Bulanyi to Cardinal Lekai of 10 April 1982. Here is an excerpt: "I am not familiar with the publication called UJ FORRAS. Nor do I know its publishers. I have never given it any manuscripts either directly or indirectly."

If this is the case, therefore, then this was the second time that they passed judgment on Gyorgy Bulanyi's teachings on the basis of writings that did not come from him. The Dignitatis Humanae Commission declaration hypothesized that somebody was trying to drive a wedge between the Bench of Bishops and the basic communities and considered it to be in its interest--even using forged documents if it had to--to stir up conflict within the Catholic Church. The declaration points out that no one has ever heard of the publication called UJ FORRAS, and nobody besides the Cardinal and the theology professors has ever seen any copies of it. It states: "We do not know where the hierarchy has obtained its information from, but it would seem desirable for the leaders of our church to look into whether somebody is taking advantage of their good faith." (Declaration by the Dignitatis Humanae Commission, 10 May 1982)

In his letter of reply, the Cardinal made it clear that he did not consider it necessary to investigate who forged the writings attributed to Bulanyi that were published by UJ FORRAS because--as he put it--Bulanyi's answers that he gave in person "contained essentially the same tenets as those put forth in the UJ FORRAS article, entitled 'Subordination'. Based on the decision arrived at by the Conference of Bishops, I am hereby calling on you to recant these erroneous theological explanations.... I am once again summoning you to please submit to me a detailed reply--containing a retraction of your views that are inconsistent with the basic tenets of our church--by 24 April." (Excerpt from Cardinal Lekai's letter to Bulanyi of 14 April 1982)

The Priory Father continues to insist that his views are compatible with the tenets of the church and that therefore he has nothing to recant, and he still has not given up hope of receiving understanding from Cardinal Lekai. "...I beg of you again in the name of Jesus' Church"--he wrote to the Cardinal--"to stop trying to protect the church from those among whom the church is thriving and gaining strength. I trustingly ask: Has it become completely hopeless in our church of love to expect the pastor to have fraternal conversations with a brother assigned under his direction whose willingness to serve the church has been proven, among other things by so many respectfully worded written petitions? I am, and we are all, praying that heeding all these appeals, Your Reverence will finally accept our extended hand and instead of trying to destroy us will become our pastor." (Excerpt from Bulanyi's letter to Cardinal Lekai of 19 April 1982)

The Cardinal, however, has refused to be "fraternal." His next move was reported by the Hungarian Telegraph Office: "At its 8-9 June 1982 session, the Conference of Bishops decided to suspend Gyorgy Bulanyi's right to attend to his clerical functions. This suspension is temporary. The final decision will depend on the findings of the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith." (MTI, 10 June 1982)

The hierarchy, therefore, has used one of its harshest weapons, suspension, (*suspensio a divinis*) against Gyorgy Bulanyi. The next step will be the decision by the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith.

A Few Notes

1. From the point of view of the church, the most crucial question, of course, is whether or not Gyorgy Bulanyi's theological thoughts are reconcilable with the tenets of the church. This question can only be answered by someone who is equally familiar with Bulanyi's theses, with the church teaching office's objections to them and with Bulanyi's explanations to these objections. The paper of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops, however, published only the objections raised by the theology commission. Bulanyi's answers were not published, despite his specific request. Thus, we have come to know only the "accusers'" views but not the defense and reasoning of the "accused." This is why the above documentation is merely a record of events without any discussion of the theological aspects of the dispute.

2. What is most striking for the outside observer is the tone of voice that the theologians appointed to look into the case used with their "brother priest"; and the irresponsible superficiality of the theologians in failing to investigate (all it would have taken was a phone call) whether the writings they based their criticism on had really come from Bulanyi.

3. In view of the fact that Cardinal Lekai has placed his entire pontifical reputation behind the indictment sent to the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith and that the theology professors preparing the indictment have excellent connections in Rome, it is conceivable that the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith will reverse its earlier decision favoring Gyorgy Bulanyi and sustain the Hungarian theologians' judgment of condemnation.

One can only guess the consequences this would have on the Hungarian Catholic Church. We can assume, however, that the recent statement by the East German writer Stefan Heym in reference to the situation of the Evangelical Church in the GDR also applies in this case: "...The church...is facing a dilemma.... For a long time there were only three old women and an elderly gentleman listening to a given sermon on Sundays. Today, some churches are packed with hundreds of people. This can be attributed to a new attitude on the part of some young clergymen who understand the people... Just as during the Nazi era the church was divided into a 'confessor' and an 'official' part, the same can be observed today between the conservative clergy--those who have no problems either with their church leaders or with the state organs--and those clergymen who are willing to take this risk in exchange for being able to celebrate mass in front of packed churches. As someone with an understanding of the situation put it recently, some of our clergymen act like revolutionaries while our officials act like clergymen." (DER SPIEGEL, 31 May 1982)

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CSO: 2500/363

CATHOLIC WEEKLY EDITOR FINDS BASIC COMMUNITIES DISRUPTIVE

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 22 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Ferenc Magyar, managing editor of UJ EMBER]

[Excerpts] "What is happening in Hungary is one of the most original and interesting practical experiences in Europe," said Mitterrand before his recent visit. I find it wholly understandable that he in whose heart love of country and church reside together can't help sighing and thinking, "if only we could say the same about the state of the Hungarian Catholic Church; that what has transpired in the transformation, renewal and development of the local church since the Synod is also original and worthy of attention."

There were churches in parts of Europe which could continue their work as though there had been no interruption after World War II. However, at that time, we first had to restore calm and order in the internal life of the church and consider how to replace our lost institutional system without which implementation of Synod reforms appeared hopeless. The seminaries, catholic press, book publishers and our 8 catholic secondary schools plus general religious instruction, all facing many difficulties, had to prepare for new tasks. Because the aforelisted represented the sum total of our resources. This is not a case of being apologetic, but when we feel dissatisfied with our achievements, we must not forget the situation from which we started. Even today we cannot boast that our catholic system of institutions has expanded significantly since then, but we have learned and must continue to learn to make better and more efficient use of what we have.

The various church communities, including those now called small or basic communities have always played an important part in the church's efforts at renewal. There is no question whatsoever that our bench of bishops fails to understand the need for these or that it is taking a rigid stand against them. But it would be wrong to believe that today small communities represent the only way of building communality: especially not small communities whose work is out of line with the mainstream of the church.

The existence of small communities is acceptable only in the service of the greater community. Services performed in smaller units for mutual interests and values never disrupt the unity of the church. But efforts tied to personal ambition and voluntary factors marshalled through stirring up biased feelings not only disrupt unity but dissipate common values.

In Spain there are 1,300 basic communities located mainly in the large cities. Thirty-six percent of them have been denounced by the bench of bishops. It is interesting that the West European catholic press has not treated the stand of the Spanish bench of bishops as a sensational phenomenon as it has in our case. In our case the tempest in the teapot has been seen as a devastating, raging storm. The Western media has even raised the question of in whose interest this disruption of unity lies. Since it is obviously not in the interest of the church, the only answer, according to them, is that it must be in the interest of the state.

Anyone who believes that it serves government interest to stir up intra-church conflict during the current phase of domestic, social, economic and political development and amid present international tensions is either unfamiliar with or grossly underestimates the circumspect reasoning of Hungarian Government policy.

However, to believe that Hungarian Marxist atheism has undergone some mystical internal change is tantamount to self-delusion. There is no question of such transformation. It is, rather, recognition of the fact that the majority of our population is religious and that this situation will not change in the near future.

Yet, this depends decisively on us. The concept of how we would plan our future and fulfill our mission of transmitting our Christian heritage originated with St Stephen. And for us this is not an issue to be settled by strife or even primarily through institutionalization. In the strictest sense, it will depend on the church itself whether 20 years from now there will still be Hungarian children and youths who fold their hands in prayer.

CSO: 2500/403

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT MUNICIPALITY MASS MEETINGS

Brasov Mass Rally, 31 August

AU311231 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0914 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 31 August mass rally in Brasov Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades, I would like to begin by extending warm greetings and best wishes to you and to all the residents in Brasov County and municipality on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf. [Cheers, chants]

We are in Brasov County and municipality on a working visit. We have visited several chemical and machine-building enterprises. Generally speaking, we have gathered positive impressions about the work performed and results achieved by the working people in the enterprises of Brasov County and municipality. I want to congratulate all the working people's collectives I have visited and all working people in Brasov for the results recorded thus far. I also want to wish them success in fulfilling this year's plan and thus to achieve a lasting basis for the overall 5-year plan. [Cheers, chants]

The Brasov County and municipality rank among...or rather Brasov County is the best developed county from an industrial viewpoint. It produces tractors, trucks and other highly technical equipment and machines, and highly technical chemical products. Thus Brasov plays an important role in the general development of socialist Romania and in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions of raising our fatherland onto new levels of development, of achieving a new quality of work and life and of proceeding toward a new development stage in socialist Romania. [Cheers, chants]

In the first 8 months of the second year of the 5-year plan, the working people throughout the country have achieved important results in fulfilling this year's plan. I would like to extend congratulations from here, from this big workers center, to all working people in Romanian industry and to wish them increasingly greater successes in their overall future activity. [Cheers, chants]

Although I have not visited the agricultural units I planned to, at the latest meeting on agricultural issues we examined the Brasov agricultural situation as well. It is true, compared with 1981, this year's crops are better. However, we must state that Brasov is capable of producing more in agriculture, too, and in fulfilling its self-supply program. I do not want now to voice criticism either of industry or agriculture. I hope that the county [party] committee, the working people's collectives and the managerial councils will understand and interpret the fact that I have not voiced any criticism about certain existing shortcomings as proof of my trust that, together with the communists and all working people and with the managerial councils, they will take such action so as to fulfill the plan under most favorable conditions in order to demonstrate that such shortcomings are temporary. I believe that such action will be taken. [Cheers, chants]

However, we must never forget that we have made great investments in developing our socialist industry and in developing our modern agriculture. Now we must give priority to making complete use of the means available in our enterprises to ensure high quality production able to compete with the best similar products at an international level, so that the trucks, tractors, ball-bearings and other products of the Brasov industry and of Romanian industry generally will do honor to our people and to the work performed by our workers class, which is master of its destiny and is building the socialist society in complete freedom and which is consciously building the most noble and most humane society in the world. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to cutting back material consumption and to economize in all fields of activity. With the materials available just now and with good management, we will be able to increase production by at least 15-20 percent, without needing any additional materials.

This demonstrates the great reserves still available in that field. We must act so that on this basis we will be able to ensure better material-technical supplies and an increase in economic efficiency in our overall activity. We must never forget, dear comrades, that it is our duty to do all we can to obtain with our available means a greater increase in the national income and in the general wealth of our people--the only source for socialist Romania's general growth and for the constant improvement in the material and cultural well-being of our people. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to increasing labor productivity on the basis of mechanizing and automating production processes. We have noted a great number of positive things during our 2-day visit. They must be given general application, and everything must be done to improve the level of mechanization and automation of production and to increase labor productivity so as to outdo capitalism and imperialism in this decisive field for our fatherland's general development and to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over the capitalist society. [Cheers, chants]

Taking into consideration the modern enterprises that exist in Brasov and the research cadres, including higher education facilities in Brasov, it is necessary to pay greater attention to improving and creating new highly productive and technical products. It is necessary for us to unite all our forces to more rapidly resolve the introduction into the production process of certain new engines and machines which are still delayed. But I stated I would not voice any criticism. Therefore, I stated that we must by all means do all we can so that next year we will have at least 4,000 360hp engines.

It is necessary to do everything so that the "Steagul Rosu" enterprise will fulfill this task of honor by also fulfilling its overall plan. The same thing is valid also for "Tractorul" and "Rulmentul" and the other enterprises in Brasov. All of them have very great tasks regarding the more rapid introduction of research results into the production process. This is actually one of the essential problems for labor productivity, economic efficiency, and for increasing the competitiveness of Romanian products on an international level. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is also necessary to pay greater attention to agricultural issues. There are favorable conditions in Brasov County for a good crop as regards a number of vegetables such as potatoes, beets and even wheat and other crops. There are especially favorable conditions for increasing output in the animal breeding sector.

We must make better use of grasslands and pastures available in this county so as to forcefully develop the animal breeding sector, to increase the production of milk, and meat and to ensure the implementation of the self-supply program under favorable conditions so that the Brasov County will be able to be self-sufficient at least as far as those products are concerned. As you well know, to ensure the bread requirements from other counties, more than 100,000 tons of wheat alone are necessary, not to mention other grains.

Therefore, comrades, it is necessary for the agricultural working people, the people's councils, the agricultural bodies and the county party committee to take very firm action in the agricultural field, too, to implement the 12th Party Congress decisions.

At the Bucharest meeting we had lengthy discussions on problems concerning the whole of the country, and Brasov County as well. Generally, this year we can claim a good agricultural crop. Brasov has not given everything it is able to give. However, we hope that next year Brasov will hold a more important place in agriculture, too, and that it will yield better crops. Let us see to it that agriculture in Brasov, Romanian agriculture, will make an increasingly greater contribution to the country's general development, to ensuring proper supplies for the people and to improving the material and cultural living standard of our people--the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the socialist society we are building in Romanian. [Cheers, chants]

The great tasks which have to be fulfilled both in industry and agriculture require decisive measures in better training cadres and working people both in industry and agriculture. It is necessary to improve qualifications to meet the level of modern technology in our enterprises. We must improve the qualification of cadres to be able to produce highly technical and productive equipment and machines. This can be achieved only with highly qualified workers, foremen, engineers and people who, acting consciously as owners and as producers and end-users, do all they can to constantly improve their professional, technical and scientific qualifications and who also improve their political training so that they will act as true masters of everything that exists and is being produced in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is necessary to increase the sense of responsibility, of discipline and order. The modern machines which we have in our country must be maintained and overhauled. If they are not looked after they will cause us great damage. Therefore, apart from technical training and the necessary qualifications, order and discipline in all fields are essential to fulfill the highly responsible tasks devolving on all working people's collectives in all fields.

Comrades, now, at the beginning of September when the new school year will open, we must pay particular attention to the question of training cadres and to the question of training for reassignment and of improving the level of knowledge of all working people in all fields of activity. I am dwelling on this problem because it is one of the most important tasks at this point in order to achieve a new quality of work and life. A new quality presupposes a new man with a high revolutionary awareness, with a high technical level and professional knowledge; a man of the socialist society--the future builder of communism. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Dear comrades and friends, Brasov County and municipality have everything that is necessary to successfully fulfill this year's plan, to ensure the achievement and even production of certain machines and equipment in excess of plan during the current 5-year plan. We must see to it that this huge force of working people, representing almost 50 percent of the county's population, will act in complete unity and in a revolutionary spirit so that Brasov County will not be the first only as far as industrialization is concerned, but also as far as the technical level, efficiency and labor productivity are concerned, and so that Brasov will constantly hold a frontranking place among socialist Romania's counties. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in giving priority to implementing the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society, we are fulfilling our high duties to our people and to the cause of socialism, peace and independence for all nations. Proceeding from this, we are doing our best to contribute to resolving the great international problems so as to ensure the peace and independence of peoples. Only under such conditions can Romania implement its programs for socialist development and each people attain its aspirations for well-being and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, there are two completely opposing trends in the international life. The imperialist policy of force, diktat and redivision of spheres of influence is still active; at the same time one can witness the powerful assertion of the will of peoples to completely eliminate colonialism and imperialist domination and to ensure the full independence of peoples and the right of each nation to free development without any outside interference. [Cheers, chants]

In the confrontation between these two trends, one can note the assertion of the superiority of peoples and the great majority of the world, which are resolutely struggling to ensure a free future, and we are firmly convinced that the future belongs to free and independent mankind and that the imperialist and colonialist policy will be eliminated by the joint struggle of the peoples. [Cheers, chants]

A number of conflicts still persist in various parts of the world. We believe that everything should be done to completely renounce the military way in resolving various problems between states. One should only use the way of negotiations in resolving any contentious issues. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are much easier than military conflicts. Therefore, we must do everything possible to put an end to acts of military aggression and military conflicts, so as to resolve problems through negotiations and ensure peace for all mankind. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, Romania has always advocated a negotiated resolution of the Middle East problems. Now, after the aggressive military actions in Lebanon and Beirut and after the Beirut solution reached through negotiations, we believe that one should draw the necessary conclusions; put an end to any kind of military actions on the part of Israel; ensure the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon; guarantee the independence and integrity of Lebanon; and proceed to resolving the Palestinian people's problem, on the basis of their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. [Cheers, chants]

The military events in Lebanon and Beirut again proved that there can be no military solution for the Middle East problems and that one should use the path of negotiations. Now is the time to work for a full solution and a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian people are entitled to their own state and there is room enough in the Middle East for a Palestinian state. Likewise, there is room enough there for the independent state of Israel, which must certainly exist. One should ensure the peaceful coexistence between these two states and all states in the Middle East. [Cheers, chants]

One should also resolve other military conflicts, including the conflict between Iraq and Iran, in the same spirit of negotiations.

Dear comrades and friends, one of the key issues of our age is that of war and peace. The arms race has acquired huge dimensions. Huge stocks of weapons, including nuclear weapons, have been amassed, weapons that can

destroy the world several times over. It is high time to put an end to the arms race and renounce the policy of armaments and overarming, which is a great burden for all peoples and increases the danger of a new war. One should responsibly work to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear. One should strive to attain a balance of power, not by increasing the level of armaments, but by continuously reducing them under international control. One should also proceed to bringing about nuclear disarmament. [Cheers, chants]

In this respect we deem it necessary to do everything possible to prevent the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, to ensure the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and to build a Europe without any kind of nuclear missiles, be they medium-range or shorter-range. We want a Europe without nuclear weapons. [Cheers, chants]

Let us work together with all peace-loving forces everywhere, like we actually did last fall and spring. It is well known that the great peace demonstrations in Europe and other continents, to which our people enthusiastically adhered, proved the determination of peoples to do their utmost to put an end to the arms race and ensure peace. One should state that these great demonstrations of the peoples have already had a certain impact and determined many governments and heads of state to think twice over certain issues, become more realistic and take into account the desire of peoples. Therefore, it is within the power of the united people to ensure peace and general disarmament, primarily nuclear. In the name of life and the peoples' independence, we must do everything possible to secure the supreme right of peoples and nations to existence, life and independence. [Cheers, chants]

Romania attaches particular importance to the Madrid meeting, which is due to resume next November, and we hope that this meeting concludes with even better results and gives new impetus to developing cooperation and security in Europe. We advocate a European conference on trust and disarmament and the continuation of meetings that began with Helsinki, since they ensure an organized framework for discussing problems between European countries, finding ways and means to develop their cooperation and attaining the unity of European states, based on respect for each country's social system and independence. This active cooperation in promoting the socioeconomic development of European states should make a contribution to the overall development of science, culture and the living standards of all people. [Cheers, chants]

Within the framework of European security, we pay great attention to Balkan issues. We would like the Balkans to never again become a powder keg, as it was called in the past. It should no longer be an instrument in the hands of the great imperialist powers. The Balkan peoples should cooperate for their independent socioeconomic development, so as to turn the Balkans into an area of friendship and peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons. I would like to state here that Romania has good relations with all Balkan states and is convinced that the peoples living in this area can build a Balkans which should be an example of peaceful cooperation between peoples, one without nuclear weapons. [Cheers, chants]

Another serious international problem is the big gap between rich and poor countries. It is well-known that almost two-thirds of mankind live in developing countries. The present situation of these states is a direct result of colonialist and imperialist policy, of the fact that these peoples had been robbed and oppressed for centuries and that the riches and tremendous development in the developed and rich countries were achieved at their expense. It is well known that the Romanian people, too, paid tens of billions of dollars for the development of today's rich countries. Those who today talked about the superiority of, and about the better life in, the capitalist countries should never forget--and we must tell the workers class in those countries--that their better situation today is the result of the difficult and backward life of two-thirds of the world and that we must eliminate underdevelopment along with the elimination of colonial and imperialist domination; we must ensure that poorly developed people are raised to a new and free life, to a flourishing economic life. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Romania firmly advocates the achievement of a new international economic and political order based on equality and respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and on cooperation in the spirit of equality, equity and mutual advantage.

Everything must be done to assist backward countries. The stability of the world economy depends on this, including the preservation of the current level in the developed countries. Without achieving a new economic order, without eliminating underdevelopment, neither economic stability nor international peace will be ensured. Peace and the new international economic order represent a unity and objective requirement, and we must do all we can to achieve those vital requirements for all of mankind. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, it is necessary to do all we can to ensure the participation of all states, irrespective of size or social system, in resolving all international problems. We must especially ensure the active participation of the small and medium-sized countries, of the nonaligned and developing countries, which are vitally interested in resolving problems in the interest of all mankind and interested in a democratic policy of peace and independence. It is necessary for us to do all we can to increase the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in resolving the great international problems. Let us see to it that the decisions adopted by the United Nations will be implemented and observed by all states. Only in this manner will we be able to ensure new relations in the international arena, only thus will we be able to create conditions for achieving a better and more just world on our planet. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

In the spirit of the 12th Party Congress decisions regarding our foreign policy, we will act with great determination to develop relations with all the socialist countries, paying of course special attention to relations with our neighbors. We will forcefully develop relations with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries, always based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use of

or threat to use force, and respect for each people's and each nation's right to completely master its destiny and organize its life as it desires, without any outside interference. [Cheers, chants: "Ceaurescu-peace"]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion once again I would like to express words of satisfaction with what I have noted in the work performed by the Brasov working people and with the activity carried out by the party organization, the people's councils, trade union, youth and with the activity carried out by the workers class, the engineers, technicians and peasantry. I want to express the conviction that this huge force represented by the working people in the most industrialized county in our fatherland will know how to work to rapidly eliminate the shortcomings that still exist in various fields, so that the Brasov County will have special results in all fields of activity by the end of this year and the end of the 5-year plan.

As I have mentioned before, it would be a good thing, dear comrades, if you tried to hold first place at least once during the current 5-year plan in the competition that is going on between counties. You have this possibility and you should avail yourselves of it.

I wish you and all working people in the Brasov County and municipality increasingly greater successes in your overall activity and I wish you much good health and happiness. [Cheers, chants: "Ceaurescu and the people"]

Petrosani Mass Rally, 2 September

AU021223 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1025 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceaurescu at 2 September mass rally in Petrosani Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, I want to extend warm greetings to you, the miners, and to all residents of the Jiu Valley and of Petrosani Municipality on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf, together with best wishes and good luck. [Cheers, chants]

We are in Hunedoara County on a working visit. Within this framework we began with the Jiu Valley, with Petrosani Municipality. We want to talk with the miners and with the collective leaderships, with the managerial councils, with the party organizations and the working people about how the 12th Party Congress decisions are being implemented and what has to be done to fulfill the energy program and to ensure our country's energy independence. [Cheers, chants]

During the visit and the talks we conducted we noted with great satisfaction the important successes achieved in past years. Since my last visit, the Jiu Valley has indeed achieved important progress in mechanization, in developing the mining activity and in increasing coal production, in achieving other industrial and sociocultural targets and in improving the general well-being of the working people.

All this clearly shows that our party is doing all it can to ensure the necessary conditions for implementing the program of the fatherland's socio-economic development and of ensuring its energy independence. On this basis, together with the country's general improvement let us constantly improve the people's well-being--our party's supreme goal. [Cheers, chants]

Although the comrades here have talked about certain lags and difficulties that have arisen, we have jointly reached the conclusion that these are temporary, that in fact conditions have been created to surmount them already in September and to make up for certain lags, so that the planned coal production for the entire year will be achieved. Generally, our impressions about the work performed by miners are positive, and I wish [cheers, chants] to extend congratulations to the miners in the Jiu Valley for the results they have achieved in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. I also want to wish them ever better results both in successfully fulfilling this year's plan and in implementing the current 5-year plan provisions in the field of coal productions. [Cheers, chants]

We have also visited the enterprise for mining equipment and we have noted here too with great satisfaction the progress recorded and the modern equipment that is being built in this plant. This demonstrates that it was a positive thing to build an enterprise for building mining equipment here in the Jiu Valley because this will better and more rapidly ensure the mechanization of work in the Jiu Valley and will also ensure good quality equipment. I want to congratulate the machine builders for the results they have recorded and to wish them increasingly greater successes so that they are able to produce good quality combines and equipment.

Dear comrades, as is well known, the 12th Party Congress--setting the development goals of our socialist society onto new levels and envisaging the achievement of a new work and quality of life in all fields of activity--set forth a basic target: Ensuring the country's complete energy independence by 1990. Within this framework, mining and coal production have to play a particularly important role because in 1990 the major part of electrical and thermal power must be achieved from coal. Therefore, the party Central Committee this spring drew up a special program on developing coal production and on energy problems. Within this framework, the miners in the Jiu Valley and throughout the country have to play a very important role, and I am convinced that the miners will do this honorable duty toward the fatherland and toward socialism. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

From this big mass rally in the Jiu Valley, I would like to extend to all miners in our fatherland congratulations for the results they have recorded thus far and to wish them and call upon them to do all they can to fulfill this year's plan and the current 5-year plan's program, so as to ensure the miners' very important contribution to the fatherland's development and to building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

To implement the energy program, we have envisaged important investments for development both in the Jiu Valley and in other mining areas in our

country. It is now necessary for us to take firm and determined action to completely and in a timely way implement all those programs.

Here, too, there are still some lags, but we have all necessary conditions available to recoup lags and to implement the 5-year plan program regarding the opening of new mines and regarding the increase in mining outputs. Certainly, comrades, it is necessary for us to develop mines upon new bases; we must ensure the complete mechanization of the new units and the modernization of old ones.

All this requires great efforts. From the state budget and from the incomes of all our nation we have allocated important funds for mining activity. In the past 10 years alone we have developed by tenfold the fixed assets in the Jiu Valley. Thus we have created a strong material base. Now we must act to achieve--with this material base, with our modern equipment and means--a more rapid increase in production. This means that we must better use the highly technical combines and equipment: We must ensure that they fully operate and yield maximum outputs. We have invested a great deal, comrades. Therefore, we must now produce to make up for those investments and to ensure our fatherland's more forceful development and a general improvement in the general well-being of our people. [Cheers, chants]

During a meeting this morning with the managerial councils, with enterprise leaderships and with central bodies' representatives we discussed problems that must be solved rapidly to fulfill the program of developing the mining activity in Petrosani under favorable conditions. Generally, it is necessary, comrades, to work in a more organized and more disciplined manner; we must put greater order and discipline in all fields of activity. It is not exactly normal, but of the 40,000 people who are working in the Jiu Valley mining combine, only 5,800 people are actually working in coal mining production, while the others are working in other, admittedly important but auxiliary activities. What is essential, however, in the final analysis is to produce as much coal as possible. It is necessary to change this not very good ratio between those who are directly active in the mining activity to supply the fatherland with coal and those who are active in the other activities. The number of those active in coal mining must increase and the number of those active in other activities must be cut back. The basis of the organization must be the people active in coal mining, in the combines and stopes. This is what we must focus on in the overall mining activity. This must be the focus of the party organization, trade union and managerial council, and must be the focus of each enterprise and central. Only thus will we be able to put order in this field, so that the miners active in coal mines are indeed the major basis of the overall activity. [Cheers, chants]

The Ministry of Metallurgy and the Ministry of Machine-Building have assured us that they will supply everything that has been established as far as materials and equipment are concerned, in conformity with plan provisions and with the requirements of implementing the program. Lags will also be made up for and everything that has been planned will be achieved to implement the program, including the measures for developing and improving equipment and means.

Together with the Ministry of Mines and the combine managerial council, we have decided that improvements have to be made in organizing the activity of the Jiu Valley. Let us take such action as to establish a complete mechanization system of all activities, including transportation activity to thus ensure the progress of overall activity under most favorable conditions.

We can thus state that from the material viewpoint of the technical base, we have all necessary conditions and in the Jiu Valley, too, we will have everything necessary available to implement the program on developing mining and on the country's energy independence. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, along with the concern for a good technical base, we should pay greater attention to raising the professional level of working people and cadres and thoroughly training the future miners. Unfortunately, I noted that there are very serious shortcomings in this field. I noted that the combine and ministry have no clear concept and program regarding the number and quality of skilled workers in the mining field as well as regarding the training of miners required by the industry. This is one of the most important problems, comrades. We cannot have a modern and mechanized mining industry with highly technical equipment without highly skilled miners, without miners skilled also in electrical-engineering and machinery. We have discussed these issues in 1979, too. We must take all necessary measures and proceed, as of this year, to thoroughly train miners with an appropriate technical and professional level of knowledge, so that they can handle the highly technical equipment with which their units are endowed. This also applies to training engineers, foremen and all other mining cadres. I believe that this problem is very important for fulfilling the program to develop the mining sector. Comrades, no matter how modern our equipment and installations may be, if we do not have the skilled manpower to operate them, they will stand idle. Therefore, the men, the miners, are the important factor. Hence we should do everything possible to ensure their high technical and professional training so that they can commendably handle the highly technical equipment available to them. [Cheers, chants]

At the same time, we must establish a precise program for improving the training of existing workers and cadres, for recycling them, as we say in more technical language. This aims at continuously raising the training and knowledge of all working people. Comrades, we must understand that the miner's profession is a highly technical one. Miners must have a high technical knowledge and they must work to raise their professional and technical level, as well as their cultural and political level, so as to become an even more powerful detachment of our workers class--a detachment of revolutionary miners struggling for socialism and communism. [Cheers, chants]

As you can see comrades, I know that you are honorable miners. Therefore I am frank with you both about good and poor results. I am talking to you as a miner myself. That's how we should work. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, during today's visit I noted certain important achievements in implementing decisions adopted several years ago concerning the development of industries for women, something which ensures better working and living conditions for the Jiu Valley working people. Trade, cultural and artistic activities have also developed. I heard you built a new sports center--a bit too expensive--and I have also heard of certain irregularities in its construction. Unfortunately, you don't have such a good soccer team [Ceaurescu is interrupted by enthusiastic cheers and chants]. As I said, comrades, it is not enough to have a very good sports complex; you must also have good sportsmen. Even if the field is less good, if the sportsmen are good you can win the match. [Loud cheers and chants]

Of course comrades, the trade unions, youth and party organizations should pay greater attention to the cultural, political-educational and sports activities so that the Jiu Valley can record a powerful development in these sectors, too. We have powerfully developed the trade network in your area. According to my information, you have good supplies here. Some shortages do occur now and then. We still have many bureaucrats, both in the trade and mining fields, who do not always do their duty. However, we have the necessary means and are doing our best, to ensure good supplies from all viewpoints to the working people and miners, with a view to raising the overall well-being of all our people. [Cheers, chants]

I am fully convinced that the Jiu Valley working people, the miners, management councils, youth and women's organizations, trade unions, party organizations and the municipal party committee will work to commendably implement all tasks this year and throughout the 5-year plan so as to ensure that the Jiu Valley represents a powerful workers and revolutionary citadel and a front-ranking detachment of our party and fatherland in the struggle to implement the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, in close accord with the domestic policy and the 12th intensive international activity for disarmament, for halting the arms race and for a policy of peace and independence for each nation. Although there are many complications in international life, although there are conflicts and wars in many parts of the world, where victims fall daily, and although the arms race is being intensified, we can state that, in spite of all these difficult problems in international life, the peoples are resolutely asserting the determination to completely eliminate colonialism and imperialism and to ensure each nation's development along its chosen path, without any outside interference. We are firmly convinced that, by taking united action, the anti-imperialist forces and the peoples everywhere have the necessary power to put an end to the policy of war and the arms race, so as to ensure peace and the vital right of men and nations to existence, life and freedom. [Cheers, chants]

As is well known, the powerful peace movement in Europe and other continents, to which our people have fully adhered--both through the big peace demonstrations last fall and in the first part of this year as well as

through the over 18 million signatures on the appeal for peace and disarmament--clearly demonstrates the force of peoples, who have the last decisive say in this respect. The peoples, by working in close unison, can impose peace, disarmament, a new international economic order and the observance of each nation's independence. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion I would like to again express satisfaction at the good results attained in the Jiu Valley and the conviction that all working people, management councils, mass and party organizations, the municipal council and the county party committee will work to rapidly eliminate certain shortcomings and lags, so that the Jiu Valley can present itself at the end of the year as a front-ranking detachment among the workers class detachments of Romania. [Cheers, chants]

With this conviction and desire, I wish you, dear comrades, ever greater success in your activity, good luck, and much health and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

Hunedoara Mass Rally, 3 September

AU031146 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at 3 September mass rally in Hunedoara Municipality--live]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, I want to extend, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf, warm revolutionary greetings to you and to all the residents in the Hunedoara County and municipality, together with best wishes. [Cheers, chants]

For 2 days now we have been in Hunedoara on a working visit. Yesterday at Petrosani I mentioned the activity and positive impressions we have gathered about the results in the coal production sector and about the activity carried out by the working people in the Jiu Valley and the miners. Today we visited the metallurgical combine in Hunedoara; we visited the iron and steel enterprise in Calan and two light industry units in Hunedoara. Generally [Ceausescu corrects himself] at the same time, we also visited the Retezatu hydropower plant yesterday, which is to be put into operation by the end of the current year and its to produce electrical power next year. Generally speaking, our impressions are positive ones. We noted with great satisfaction that the working people in Hunedoara in the Jiu Valley, the metallurgists, the iron and steel workers and the workers in light industry and other sectors, are acting very responsibly and doing all they can to fulfill this year's plan under most favorable conditions, and to fulfill the highly responsible tasks devolving on them within the framework of the general national economic development process.

For the positive results achieved by the Hunedoara metallurgists and the iron and steel workers in Calan, I want to extend warmest congratulations and to wish them success in recording increasingly better results. [Cheers, chants] From this big rally, too, I also want to extend warm congratulations to the Jiu Valley miners and warm congratulations to the builders of the

Retezatu hydropower plant and to wish them greater and greater successes in their activity. [Cheers, chants]

I also want to extend congratulations to the working people in light industry, both in the enterprises we visited today and in light industry in general in this county, and to wish them ever greater successes in their activity. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

A further great number of industrial enterprises are carrying out their activity in Hunedoara County and from this big mass rally I would like to convey to all working people in Hunedoara congratulations on their activity, for the results achieved and to wish them increasingly greater successes in their overall activity. [Cheers, chants]

Although we have not visited agricultural units, we were able to see, in the localities through which we travelled, what agriculture looks like. At the recent meeting we discussed agricultural problems and I made inquiries into the activity carried out by agricultural units and into opportunities to develop agriculture. Therefore, I would like to extend, from this big mass rally, congratulations also to the working people in agriculture and to all the peasantry in Hunedoara County for the results they have achieved and to wish them success in increasing agricultural production even more. [Cheers, chants]

In the second year of the current 5-year plan, important results are being achieved throughout the country in socioeconomic development and in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions, which set forth the basic target, namely Romania's transition to a new development stage and which set before all our people one of the important projects of socioeconomic development: The achievement of a new quality of life and work in all fields of activity. From this big mass rally in Hunedoara I would like to extend warm congratulations to our workers class, to the intellectuals, peasants and to all working people, irrespective of nationality, and to all our people and ask them to do all they can to fulfill this year's plan under favorable conditions, thus establishing a lasting basis for the overall 5-year plan. [Cheers, chants]

Indeed, Hunedoara holds an important place in our fatherland's national economy. An important amount of coal is produced here and, in particular, it is the only area where we can produce coking coal. Here we have one of the big iron and steel producing enterprises; the second in the country from the point of view of size. However, it is an old and experienced enterprise boasting a highly qualified collective of working people and therefore it is possible to produce high quality steels and in fact the enterprise does. There are also other important sectors in the socioeconomic activity here. Therefore, you must do all you can, so that Hunedoara will make a greater contribution to the general development of our socialist fatherland and to implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. [Cheers, chants]

Yesterday in the Jiu Valley I spoke about the activity carried out by miners and about coal production. Now I want to refer especially to the activity in metallurgy, the iron and steel sector and primarily about the activity carried out in Hunedoara. As I have already mentioned, positive results have been recorded. I noted with great satisfaction that since my last visit important progress has been recorded. New highly technical production capacities have been put into operation which are endowed with modern equipment. Significant progress has been recorded in increasing high-quality iron and steel products and special steels. However, I want to state frankly--while greatly appreciating what has been achieved--that there are still great possibilities in Hunedoara for achieving even better results.

And now after we have built these modern production capacities, we must give priority to achieving maximum outputs with existing capacities, to developing high-quality iron and steel products. Hunedoara must propose to become a higher quality metallurgical center this year; and for this it must propose to hold first place in Romanian metallurgy and iron and steel sectors. [Cheers, chants]

With a 200-year old metallurgy and iron and steel branch it is embarrassing to still import metals or other things. We must eliminate such practice; we must demonstrate the ability of the Romanian iron and steel sector and metallurgy to be competitive and able to compete with any other units throughout the world; we must produce better and competitive steels, so that we are in no way inferior to other countries. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, as you see we have proposed that this 5-year plan should be turned into the 5-year plan of quality in all fields. This requires quality steels, economic efficiency and improved activity in all branches; this new quality requires top-quality and competitive steels from every viewpoint. [Cheers, chants]

During our visit we discussed a number of tangible problems that must be solved this and next year. I do not want to refer to them now. I hope that both the combine leadership, the management council, the party organization and the ministry have understood that the time has come for the Romanian iron and steel industry generally and for the iron and steel industry in Hunedoara to perform a qualitative leap, as it were, to proceed from quantity to a new and better quality in all fields. [Cheers, chants]

In this spirit, comrades, it is necessary to examine and to establish measures for improving the activity in all fields. We must pay greater attention to cutting back material consumption. There is still great room for this in fuel, energy, ore, coke consumption and so forth; there are still great wastes that pollute cities and villages and also cause great damage to our national economy; they reduce economic efficiency and the national income. Therefore, we must take firm action to apply the measures worked out regarding the reduction of material, fuel and energy consumption, so as to achieve production with the least possible material consumption. We must ensure a stronger increase in labor productivity; we must pay greater

attention to strengthening order and discipline at the work place, to mechanizing work and to automation where this is necessary and thus achieve a greater increase in labor productivity in all sectors of activity.

Only thus will we be able to ensure an increased production with existing materials and means, only thus will we be able to ensure a stronger increase in profits, in net production and the national income, in the national wealth--the only source to ensure both the necessary means to continue to develop our socialist fatherland and to constantly improve the material and cultural well-being of all our working people, of our people. [Cheers, chants]

It is necessary to act with greater determination to commission the capacities under construction, so as to conclude investment projects on schedule and thus to ensure a constant increase in material production in all sectors of activity.

There are still unfinished or even delayed investment projects here in Hunedoara, including the iron and steel combine. Therefore, yesterday in the Jiu Valley I spoke about problems linked with coal. We must take all necessary measures to ensure the commissioning of the new production capacities on schedule, we must see to executing investment projects under favorable conditions, this being one of the very important problems for fulfilling the 5-year plan and for our fatherland's general development.

Dear comrades, we must also give proper attention to achieving the planned export outputs. We import many products: We import raw materials, coking coal, even coke, iron ores, nonferrous materials, various types of alloys and numerous other raw materials needed by our national economy. In order to import those raw and other materials we must export. We also have imported numerous equipment, including here in Hunedoara. It must be paid for and we must pay for it with products we produce here or in other sectors.

Therefore, ensuring exports constitutes an important part of our production process, so as to ensure the further development of our socialist fatherland. We will continue to develop international relations, to import and to export; but we must ensure an equilibrium in the balance of trade and the balance of payments. We must pay for various equipment and raw materials we have imported thus far. We must see to it that in the shortest time possible we will no longer have any debts and have an even balance of trade and balance of payments. This will be and must be one of our daily concerns in all our units and in all sectors of activity. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, certainly, if we produce more coal, especially coking coal, if we cut back imports we will achieve a good thing and we must achieve this; if we produce top-quality steels and if we cut back--and we must completely give up imports--then we will achieve a very important thing for our national economy. Therefore, it is necessary for us to produce the necessary products and to increase raw and other materials at home, so as to cut back imports. This lies within our power and we now have industrial

capacities capable of resolving these problems under favorable conditions. However, as far as exports are concerned, it is necessary for us to plan well ahead and produce.

I discussed this issue here, in Hunedoara. It is one thing to export average steel and quite another thing to export high quality steel. From the same ton of metal--with the same raw materials, perhaps with some more alloys which should not make too much of a difference, with some more work and with better discipline and care--we can obtain steels of 2, 3, 4 or 5 times higher quality. This would mean a better utilization of the work and activity of our workers class and of steel and iron workers of Hunedoara and throughout the country. This applies to all fields of activity. Therefore we must pay proper attention to turning out high quality products and better utilizing raw materials and our people's work. [Cheers, chants]

We must pool all forces existing in all units. We have highly skilled workers. We have engineers, technicians and highly competent cadres capable of resolving all problems. We have research sectors and institutes. All must join forces to jointly resolve problems of improving the quality of Romanian products, better utilizing these products, raising overall quality and attaining a new and higher stage of the Romanian economy, which means higher quality and efficiency in all fields. [Cheers, chants]

We have scored wonderful results in socialist construction. Within a short historical span we have covered several historical stages. We are currently in the stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. Our country has greatly developed. The industrial production is 50 times higher than it was before the war. The iron and steel production is also some 50 times higher. All this is reflected in the great industrial complexes and new industrial platforms in all our country's counties. You have talked here about the development in Hunedoara. You know very well what the situation was like before the war or even later, in 1945, 1948 or 1950 and what it is like today. Our towns and villages have developed; we have built a lot. Ever better housing and living conditions were ensured for our working people. All this proves the force and capacity of the workers class, the leading class in our socialist society, and of all our people, who, united around the RCP, are consciously shaping their new life and free and communist future. [Cheers, chants]

However, there is still much left to be done comrades. We must never forget that the implementation of the party program requires serious efforts in all fields, a better organization of work in all sectors and a more responsible spirit throughout the entire socioeconomic activity. We should do everything possible to eliminate shortcomings and deficiencies that persist in various fields of activity. I do not want to dwell now on certain drawbacks and shortfalls. I have already discussed them with the comrades [presumably the local leading cadres]. I believe they will seriously consider what we discussed. I believe that the party organizations, working people's councils and all working collectives will understand that by not making open criticism at this big mass rally I am showing my trust in the capacity of the working people, headed by party organizations and management councils, to eliminate these shortcomings and demonstrate

that the Hunedoara people are also capable of scoring better results in all fields, thus becoming a front-ranking revolutionary detachment of the Romanian workers class. [Cheers, chants]

As I said yesterday in the Jiu Valley, we must pay great attention to raising the professional and technical training of the working people; the new, highly technical machines and equipment require highly skilled workers, foremen, technicians and engineers and we must do our best to continuously raise the level of their technical and professional knowledge by organizing recycling courses and improving the activity of schools for skilled workers and experts. Comrades, we must be aware of the fact that we can demonstrate the force and capacity of our people to build a new and independent life as well as the superiority of our socialist society over the capitalist one only through the work of the people, the workers class, the peasantry and intelligentsia. The people are the decisive factor for building the new society; the men are handling and building the machines, hence the level of our social development depends on their ability to think and create. Therefore comrades, we must learn, learn and learn again. Let us become good craftsmen in all fields, good revolutionaries, communists and patriots. [Cheers, chants]

I have listened here to your very beautiful slogans. Of course comrades, the party plays an important role in leading our society. The comrades chanted here: Long live Ceausescu, may Hunedoara flourish. Of course comrades, by fulfilling my role and the task entrusted to me by the party, people and yourselves, I can do my best to ensure that our affairs are in order. But it is up to you to ensure that Hunedoara flourishes. Your work is the decisive factor. If you do not ensure this through your work, Hunedoara will not flourish. So, if you want Hunedoara to flourish, then you should work better. [Cheers, chants]

You are the party. The people are the party. The party draws up and organizes the directions of our social development. But the decisive factor is the work of the workers class and the people. Only in close unity and through the people's work can we build both developed socialism and communism in Romania. Only thus can we ensure the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland. [Cheers, chants]

We must also pay due attention to the political and educational activity of molding the new man, conscious builder of socialism. We must develop the mass artistic activity and I know that you have good results in Hunedoara in this respect. Even here, I can see several artistic groups and I know that such groups are giving good performances here in Hunedoara. You have wonderful folk costumes. You have a good base with old traditions in your cultural and artistic activity and you must raise it onto higher peaks both from the viewpoint of artistry and of its content. We must do our best to ensure that our art and cultural-artistic activity becomes a powerful force in the construction of socialism and communism. [Cheers, chants]

Likewise, we must pay due attention to the sports activity. What I said yesterday in Petrosani also applies to Hunedoara, too. Aside from a good stadium, you must also have good teams. [Cheers, chants]

Of course comrades, there are many fields of activity. The decisive thing though is to commendably fulfill the socioeconomic development plan. This requires that the Hunedoara party organizations, municipal council and the county party committee should better organize overall work and pool the efforts of all working people in all sectors to fulfill the great tasks set for the Hunedoara County working people. I am firmly convinced that here, in Hunedoara, we have powerful revolutionary detachments, good party organizations, trade unions, youth and women's organizations and the necessary force to commendably fulfill the great tasks set for them, so that Hunedoara can become an ever more powerful center of industrial production, a revolutionary and patriotic center. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, while giving priority to the development of our socialist fatherland, we are also carrying out an intensive international activity for a policy of peace, detente and national independence, in the conviction that only under conditions of peace can our people fulfill the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society. Likewise, only under such conditions can each people fulfill its development program. Hence, peace is the key issue of today's world. It is the vital issue for the progress and well-being of each nation and all mankind. [Cheers, chants]

Many complicated problems still exist in international life. The arms race continues; new armaments, including nuclear weapons, are being amassed. These weapons can destroy mankind several times over. The economic situation is becoming worse, as a result of the worldwide economic crisis and of the imperialist policy of domination and oppression. The situation of the developing countries is getting worse, too. Therefore, we should do everything possible to unite the forces of the broad masses everywhere and of all peoples against the imperialist and colonialist policy, so as to put a final end to the policy of oppressing other peoples. It is well known that the peoples have scored outstanding successes in winning their political independence and are firmly working to consolidate and develop their national independence. Romania has always supported and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples for independence and a better and more just world. [Cheers, chants]

It is necessary to take responsible action to put an end to existing military conflicts and to resolve problems through negotiations. No matter how long and difficult such negotiations may be, they are to be preferred and are incomparably easier than wars that cause human victims and huge material damage. That is why one should responsibly work to proceed to resolving interstate problems through negotiations. From this rally in Hunedoara, I would like to stress again the need to fully resolve the Middle East problems; to ensure Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon; to ensure Lebanon's independence and sovereignty; and to resolve the Palestinian problem, on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to their own independent state. [Cheers, chants]

We must do everything possible to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear. We must ensure a balance of power so as to remove the danger of an aggression. However, this balance should be attained by continuously reducing the level of armaments and attaining disarmament under appropriate international supervision. Everything possible should be done to halt the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, to ensure the withdrawal and destruction of existing ones and to create a Europe without any kind of nuclear missiles, be they medium- or short-range, a nuclear-free Europe. [Cheers, chants]

The great peace manifestations and demonstrations in Europe and other continents--to which our people fully adhered with the big manifestations of last fall and spring and with more than 18 million signatures on the peace appeal addressed to the United Nations--have demonstrated and powerfully demonstrate the force of the peoples' peace movement and the fact that the broad masses and the peoples have the necessary force to halt the arms race, to bring about disarmament, to ensure peace and to do their best to ensure the vital right of men and peoples to existence, life, freedom and independence. [Cheers, chants]

Romania is determined to do its best to make a contribution to successfully concluding next fall's Madrid conference, convening a conference on disarmament and trust in Europe and ensuring the continuity of meetings on cooperation and security in Europe. We must work to develop new relations on our continent and ensure Europe's unity on the basis of respect for the social system and independence of each European nation. [Cheers, chants]

As a European country we are intensively developing cooperation with the Balkan countries. We advocate turning the Balkans into an area of peaceful cooperation and into an area free from nuclear weapons. We want the Balkan area to become an area of peaceful cooperation and an example of relations between equal states. [Cheers, chants]

As a developing socialist country, Romania is pursuing broad relations with the developing countries in the belief that they must strengthen solidarity among themselves. Let us do all we can to contribute to achieving a new world economic and political order based on equality and equity, so as to ensure more rapid progress for poorly developed countries which find themselves in this position because of colonialist and imperialist domination and oppression. [Cheers, chants]

There are numerous problems to be resolved in the world. All this requires united efforts by all peoples and by all those who favor peace and national independence. It is necessary that all states increase their contribution to resolving international problems; it is primarily the small and medium-size, the nonaligned and developing countries that must increase their contribution in this respect and we must do all we can to ensure that the United Nations and other international organizations play a more important role in resolving international problems, that the decisions and measures established by those organizations are observed by all world states.

We must do all we can to ensure a new order based on fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of the use or threat of force. [Cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

In the spirit of the 12th Party Congress decisions and of our foreign policy, we are developing extensive relations with all the socialist countries. We believe that we must do all we can to overcome differences between them and to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among all socialist countries because this will be an important factor for the policy of peace and independence and in asserting the strength and prestige of socialism in the world. [Cheers, chants]

We are intensively developing relations with the Third World countries, the developing countries and the nonaligned countries and with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of equality and peaceful coexistence. We are firmly convinced that new relations must be achieved among all world states. Only thus can peace and peoples' independence be achieved; only thus can one ensure mankind's free and happy future. [Cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion I would like once again to express satisfaction with what I have seen in these 2 days in the mining and industrial units we have visited and with the work and enthusiasm of the working people in all sectors in Hunedoara in implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions. We have gathered excellent impressions about the meetings and actions taken by the working people who have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate, like all our people, their firm desire to act under the communists' and the party's leadership to implement the party program and the 12th Party Congress decisions. [Cheers, chants]

Based on what I have noted and on my impressions, I am fully convinced that the Hunedoara people in all sectors--the miners, iron and steel workers, metallurgists and people in other sectors, including the peasantry--will firmly and responsibly act to fulfill this year's plan tasks and will do all they can to rank among the leaders, and if possible to hold first place in the competition among counties. I wish you success in this respect. [Cheers, chants]

With this conviction, once again I would like to wish you, dear comrades, increasingly greater successes in your overall activity and much good health and happiness. [Cheers, chants]

CSO: 2700/346

SITUATION OF ROMANIAN JEWS EXAMINED IN SWISS PAPER

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 15-16 Aug 82 p 6

[Text] Between heaven and earth, on board one of the two Antonov-24 aircraft at the disposal of our 24-member group touring the most important Jewish places of worship in Romania, in conversation with head rabbi Rosen we quickly come to the questions that seemed most important to us at home. Today, says the leader of Jewish congregations in Romania, the relationship between state and Jewry is good in this country. When President Reagan a few weeks ago called for the Romanian state leadership to increase the number of permits for emigration to Israel, then he obviously must not have been very well informed. The fact is that the number of emigrants has fallen in the last 2 years and that those wanting to emigrate must be prepared to wait several months. On the other hand, it is also a fact the number of Jews in Romania is still about 30,000 according to the congregations' registers and a good 25,000 according to a count by the state, and that the exit refusals for the last 3 years can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Even the exodus of scientists has been hardly opposed by the state. For the last 3 years all emigration applications have been handled by the rabbinate. The recognition expressed in this participation can probably be viewed as the most recent result of a long-term policy. It is not clear what is given in return. The rabbi speaks of political prestige won by Romania through its position; possibly the material benefit is more indirect in nature.

The reason for the trip, in which rabbis from America, Israel, Western Europe, Hungary and Poland, as well as high representatives of Jewish organizations and Israel and rather coincidentally two Western reporters take part, is the 70th birthday of His Eminence Dr Moses Rosen, who was voted into this position 34 years ago. The energetic man with the white beard, son of a rabbi, descendant of the famous Rabbi Loew from Prague and brother of the rabbi from Auschwitz, who fell victim to the holocaust, has forged the policy of the Jewish federation in Romania during half of his lifetime. He is an impressive figure intellectually and in outward appearance; he is a man leading rather than following his people. There were harder times than those of today, during the persecution, about which no one likes to speak, and afterwards, when emigration was still difficult. Probably also the policies of Anna Pauker, rabbi's daughter and communist bound to Stalin, had a harmful effect on the Jewish community. How problematical it was after World War II to profess Jewry can be seen from two numbers: The 1956 census showed 146,000

Jews in Romania, but since that time 400,000 have emigrated to Israel, where they, incidentally, make up the largest national group. Now the state as well concedes that about 400,000 Jews survived the holocaust in Romania, just under half of the previous population.

In the entire country there are still 120 active synagogues; all have been restored or adapted in the last 10 years. There are morning and evening prayers in half of them every day. After Bucharest, the largest congregations have between 1,500 and 2,000 members (Temesvar, for example), and the smallest have between 30 and 40. For 25 years the federation has had a biweekly review with articles in four languages (Hebrew, Yiddish, Romanian and English). In the strictest sense of the number of rabbis has fallen to three. One can attend Talmud-Tora courses in 23 cities and localities; in the last 30 years it was there that several thousand youths received their religious training on Sundays. The choir and the youth orchestra are meeting places for the sexes. Whereas in state schooling one does not disclose his religious faith, here people are of like mind.

Despite the solidarity of those financially more secure, without outside help the social security benefits of the federation of Jewish congregations in Romania would be unthinkable. The magic word is "joint," standing for American Joint Distribution Committee. Two hundred people are housed in the beautiful and modern home for the aged in Bucharest's suburb, and there are six other homes for the aged distributed throughout the country. Every day 2,500 people throughout the country receive food in kosher restaurants, and food is brought to 500 infirm people in their homes. In the clothing storehouse needy congregation members are offered products of Romanian export quality; they are somewhat nicer than what one sees in the stores. Needy families who can feed themselves receive a CARE-package up to six times a year. Well-to-do restaurant patrons are asked to pay a standard charge somewhat above the effective costs, but the contributions are collected so tactfully that no one knows about the others and how much they pay. A person has a right to a free place in a home for the aged only if he has no children to care for him.

One would think, in view of the general supply difficulties in Romania, that it would be difficult to procure foodstuffs. The representative of the joint buys the needed goods several times yearly out of the Romanian export contingent and pays for them in hard currency.

Over the course of 2,000 km our airplane trip takes us to several Moldavian cities and on the second day to the more Western (Sephardic) world of Transylvania and Banat. Especially in Moldavia inhabited by Ashkenazim the outsider enters a world familiar to him only from the books of Manes Sperber, Isaac B. Singer and Joseph Roth, and which he thought had already died out, but whose inherent laws live on.

"It is always a problem of language," said the now Biblical-aged Rosen at the very beginning of an expression of thanks for the congratulations that he had received. "Yiddish" was the resounding and nearly unanimous answer from the meeting room and thus Yiddish had become the lingua franca among the

Romanians, Americans, Hungarians, Sabras and others. Yiddish, based on Middle High German and once spoken from Lithuania over Galicia all the way to the Black Sea, seems surprisingly familiar because of the intonation and some verb forms, until one notices that important nouns taken from Hebrew and Slavic languages are unitelligible--words that generally make up the substance of a sentence.

In the program Dorohoi was characterized as the last shtetl in the world. The place is 20 km from the Romanian-Soviet border, halfway between Suceava, now the center of Romanian Bukovina, and Chernovtsy, capital of Bukovina when it was still a duchy in the multinational state of the Hapsburgs. During the journey through the gently rolling scenery, in which fields, meadows and forest alternate, and where the colorful edges, often painted in an art-nouveau style, hide themselves behind trees and shrubs in well-kept gardens, my neighbor's heart begins to beat faster. She comes from Chernovtsy, as do three other traveling companions. Although for years they have been living in Israel or America, although they know the time when Chernovtsy was a traditional university city only from the descriptions of their parents and grandparents, they speak an impeccable German with a slight Viennese quality. What the Romanians were not able to do in the years between the wars, namely, to destroy the Hapsburg atmosphere, the USSR may well have accomplished since 1941. The importance of the Jewish community in Chernovtsy, more than any figures, is indicated by the fact that the great German poet Paul Celan was born there.

Policemen salute at regular intervals along the road from the airport to Dorohoi. They cannot have been posted there to control the traffic, for we are practically the only passers-by. The rabbi sees this escort as an honor by the regime: In former times these people would not have stood at the side of the road, but would have driven along right behind him. However, it seems more likely that the soldiers posted at the edge of the forest represent a security measure. Israel is at war, and there are lots of Arab students attending Romanian universities. We are also very well guarded during our visit in the town.

Even more than in the solemn festival concert in Bucharest or in the equally dignified birthday celebration later, even more than in visiting the historic museum in the former gentlemen's tailor synagogue of the capital city, during the ceremonies in Dorohoi we enter a timelessness. In the eating-house the youth of this town behind seven mountains demonstrates that old Yiddish and Hebrew chorals and Romanian and Slavic tunes certainly can be intoned with the electric guitar and drums. Believers of the orthodox and the new rites and contemporary agnostics throng in the small room. The airplane crews, as well as the dozen secret policemen who follow our every step are completely integrated into the atmosphere. There are oranges on the tables, there is juice to drink from passion fruits, and of course some women have baked some cakes. A little fellow lets his balloon sputter to the ceiling and the 10-year-olds receive the desired chewing gum.

Many of the curious line the way from the dining hall to the place of the synagogue; it leads past the old one-story houses of artisans, as well as some

new residential barracks. The town was the assembly place for the Jewish tailors, cobblers, furriers, barbers and shopkeepers; here they were among themselves, for the farmers generally came here only for what they needed to buy. Just a few years ago seven synagogues stood on the main spot of Dorohoi. Today there are three, and one of them is slated to be torn down. When the state needs space, said Rosen, unneeded objects would be turned over to it. The second part of the ceremonies takes place in the synagogues, without an amplifying system. Local dignitaries and guests from afar toast the man whose birthday is being celebrated in more or less long speeches, and between the speeches are heard the Talmud-Torah chorals. For outsiders the rites are pretty much the same at all locations, but not for the initiated who understand. In the larger centers representatives of the other religious communities, the Orthodox, the Catholics and those of the Reform movement alternate in participating in the honors. A state delegation was present in Bucharest.

The host in the town is Rebbe Wassermann, a small man with a stubbly white beard, a rosy face and alert eyes. The knot of his tie almost completely fills the space left under his neck by the collar of his black overcoat. During his speech he leans far out over the table, gesticulating vigorously and under the growing protest of the congregation three times he calls his superior a "Stakhanovite," again and again asserting his desire to accentuate his especially great creative power. Later Rosen replies firmly, but indulgently, that Wassermann has probably forgotten that Stakhanov's achievements were rather unproductive. Possibly just as moving was the characterization by an Orthodox rabbi with a wide-brimmed hat and braided sideburns. He compared Rosen with Edison, who at the age of 70 likewise could look back on a life rich in inventions; one gave humanity the light bulb and the gramophone, the other homes for the aged and food packages for the needy. Sometime during the course of these days we heard that it is not always easy for faithful Jews to come to terms with modern times. But are they not worthy of respect in that they want to include new things in their traditions?

In the Jassy cemetery, where the victims of the war are remembered in a prayer, suddenly appears the memory of an earlier visit to the Moravian capital. Seldom at a late hour has anti-Semitism broken through in a more alarming form than in the description of the war's events by a local party official. Romania still prides itself that during the war the Jews were subject to less extreme persecution here than those Jews, for example, in the part of Transylvania awarded to Hungary. In Jassy in 1941, however, a week after Germany's invasion of the USSR, there was a pogrom organized by the Iron Guards which cost several thousand lives and in the course of which the old cemetery was ravaged. Anti-Semitism was also very strong in Bessarabia, where the majority of Jews leaned toward the USSR. The presence of a representative of the Orthodox Church at the evening celebration in the 400-year-old synagogue banishes the shadows of racial hatred.

Again and again during the 4 days there was talk of an exemplary relationship between the communist state and Jewry; even representatives of anticommunist American organizations spoke of a model. It would require a special investigation to make a comparison with the situation in other East European

countries. The relationships are not transferable. Anti-Semitism guided semi-officially flared up in Poland between 1968 and 1981; in his day Gomulka did not specifically mention the Jews in commemorating Auschwitz. A much smaller community is existing in Czechoslovakia in the shadow of places of worship converted into museums, with no hope of emigrating to the Promised Land. In Hungary, on the other hand, the Jewish community seems to be somewhat more closely tied to the power centers than in the case in Bucharest, and in Budapest there is also a school for rabbis. Among Romanian Jews a few have achieved management positions in administration and in factories.

In view of the autonomy in the social sector and the possibility for emigration, the relation between the Romanian state and Jewry may seem to be a divided one. It is ambiguous for both sides. Almost all of the young persons whom we met want to leave. In the future Rabbi Rosen as well will make longer trips to Israel in order to perform the duties of a professorship. Although the time seems to be in sight when the community will break up, no one wants to think about it. Discussing the question is no more fruitful than when we ask the resident Jews what they think about the war in Lebanon. Those are not topics for discussion.

It is probable that a West European has too much of a present-day perspective of the problems and thinks too little in historical terms. Head Rabbi Rosen has not only established a relationship between Jewry and the communist state, but between Jewry and the state in general. Nothing comparable had ever before been accomplished in this country. This sentence, which the secretary general of the Jewish federation underscored in red three times in his speech, shows the full difference in the approach.

9746

CSO: 3103/647

REPORT ON VISIT OF PALESTINIAN JOURNALISTS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 43, 46

[Interview with members of the delegation of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, by Petre N. Popescu: "An Important Contribution to the Development of Romanian-Palestinian Contacts in the Domain of the Press"]

[Excerpts] A delegation from the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, composed of Yahia Yakhlef, secretary general of the union, member of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Abdulaziz Said, member of the secretariat of the union, visited our country from 11 to 18 May of this year, at the invitation of the Council of Journalists.

As was announced, the delegation was received, on 17 May, at the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, by Comrade Petre Enache, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and, on this occasion, the importance of the collaboration between Romanian and Palestinian journalists for a better mutual understanding of our peoples and for the promotion of friendship and fruitful cooperation between them was emphasized, in a friendly, warm atmosphere.

During their visit to our country, the Palestinian journalists had talks at the Council of Journalists, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Writers Union, Radiotelevision, the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, and the editorial board of the review LUMEA. Also, the guests visited important economic and socio-cultural sites and met with representatives of the local press, in Brasov.

At the conclusion of the visit, an agreement was signed for collaboration between the Council of Journalists in our country and the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. The agreement was signed, on the Romanian side, by the deputy chairman of the Council of Journalists, Ilie Radulescu, director general of Romanian Radiotelevision, and, on the Palestinian side, by Yahia Yakhlef, secretary general of the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

At the end of the visit, the guests gave an interview to PRESA NOASTRA.

[Question]: As representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, you have undertaken this visit to our country in order to sign the agreement on collaboration between the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania and this union. What significance to you attribute to this document?

[Yahia Yakhlef] We consider that this agreement represents a good beginning for the organized development of relations of cooperation between the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and the Council of Journalists of the Socialist Republic of Romania, relations which are part of the relationship of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian peoples and the Palestinian people. Among other things, the document records the agreement of the two unions to collaborate in the framework of international conferences and meetings, to carry out reciprocal visits of delegations, exchanges of various types of documentary materials for the press and audiovisual materials, and to organize photo exhibits. The protocol provides for the support by the Council of Journalists of the requests of Palestinian journalists to continue their studies in Romania.

A large number of Palestinian journalists have studied in Romania; they are well trained press cadres and will have important positions in the press of the future Palestinian state.

We appreciate, especially, all efforts of solidarity, in the present and in the future, with the Palestinian people who is fighting for a just cause.

[Question] Your visit to Romania has given you an opportunity to have meetings with Romanian political and cultural personalities. How do you evaluate these talks in relation to your mission as a whole?

[Yahia Yakhlef] In the course of our visit to Romania, we had the honor of being received at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party by Comrade Secretary Petre Enache with whom we had a very important discussion, in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The meetings and conversations which we had in other institutions were of great interest to us. Allow me to mention the meeting with the deputy chairman of the Council of Journalists, Ilie Radulescu, the meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the conversation with the chairman of the Writers Union, D. R. Popescu, the meeting with the Brasov journalists and many others.

I would like to stress, on this occasion, the spirit of complete understanding which prevailed during the conversations with all the comrades whom we had the pleasure and honor to meet. We felt like we were among true friends. They showed that they were fully aware of the truths of the Palestinian cause and they demonstrated feelings of friendship for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We appreciate their noble sentiments and wishes that the Palestinian people would regain its inalienable national rights, including the right to establish its independent national state.

[Question] You made a short visit, for documentary purposes, to Bucharest, the Prahova Valley and Brasov County. What were your impressions after this trip?

[Yahia Yakhlef] These visits offered us an opportunity to learn directly about the remarkable progress achieved by the Romanian people in the economic, social and cultural fields and in other sectors of activity.

In Brasov we visited the "Tractorul" factory where we were impressed by the development of technology and by the special attention given to the workers, guaranteeing to them good social conditions and wide opportunities for their professional and cultural advancement.

[Abdulaziz Said] We believe that the agreement for collaboration between the two unions represents an important moment in relations between Palestinian and Romanian journalists. We want these contacts to continue to develop so that they will constitute a solid bridge in relations between our peoples, when our people achieves victory and an independent Palestinian state is created.

CSO: 2700/354

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

'RADIO TIRANA' LISTENERS SENTENCED--The Budva magistrate's court yesterday pronounced jail sentences on nine Kosovo...workers vacationing 2 kilometers from Sveti Stefan. In this vacation place they tape-recorded broadcasts from Radio Tirana in which our country is slandered and Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Workers Party, etc. are glorified. Sadik Mustafa (23) made the recordings and then organized listening sessions with his supporters. Charging them with violating the Law on Public Peace and Order, the judge sentenced Mustafa, as well as Mustafa Ganiu (29), Fehmi Nezaku (26), Silver Osmani (19), and Azem Haziri (20) from the area of Lipljan to 60 days in jail, and sentenced Skender Osmani (18), Hazir Zeka (20), Shaban Mustafa (18) to 30 days, while Enver Osmani (18) was sentenced to 15 days. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Aug 82 p 6]

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